

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 1661

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SUBJECT: CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

SUMMARY. THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING RESULTED IN THE DIVISION OF THE DC INTO A LARGE MAJORITY GROUPING BACKING PARTY SECRETARY FANFANI AND A LEFT-WING MINORITY WHICH WILL NOT HAVE REPRESENTATIVES IN THE PARTY SECRETARIAT. IN APPROVING FANFANI'S POLICY OUTLINE, THE PARTY MAJORITY GAVE ITS ASSENT TO THE PARTY SECRETARY'S STRONG STAND REJECTING ANY ACCORD WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY AT THE LOCAL OR NATIONAL LEVEL AND HIS REFUSAL TO GRANT THE SOCIALIST PARTY A QUOTE PREFERENTIAL UNQUOTE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE DC AT THE EXPENSE OF THE SMALLER DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. THE COUNCIL RESULTS REPRESENT A SUCCESS FOR FANFANI IN HIS EFFORTS TO PREPARE THE DC FOR THE IMPORTANT REGIONAL ELECTIONS EXPECTED IN JUNE BY DEVELOPING A CLEARER PARTY IMAGE AND ELECTORAL PLATFORM. PREMIOR MORO'S WILLINGNESS TO DIFFERENTIATE HIMSELF FROM THE PARTY LEFT AND SUPPORT FANFANI IN HIS EFFORT WAS A KEY ELEMENT IN FANFANI'S SUCCESS. HOWEVER, THE RELATIVE LACK OF HOMOGENEITY OF THE PARTY MAJORITY BEHIND FANFANI MEANS THAT CONTINUATION OF HIS MANDATE AND POLICIES WILL DEPEND HEAVILY ON THE OUTCOME OF THE FORTHCOMING REGIONAL ELECTIONS.

END SUMMARY.

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1. THE JANUARY 31-FEBRUARY 3 CHRISTAIN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DC) NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING ENDED WITH A VOTE BY FACTIONS REPRESENTING FOUR-FIFTHS OF THE PARTY TO APPROVE THE POLICY SPEECH OF PARTY SECRETARY FANFANI. TWO LEFT-WING FACTIONS, FORZE NUOVE AND BASE, VOTED AGAINST APPROVAL OF FANFANI'S POLICY OUTLINE, BUT SUPPORTED THE OTHER POINTS IN THE CONCLUDING NATIONAL COUNCIL DOCUMENT PLEDGING FULL DC SUPPORT TO PREMIER MORO'S GOVERNMENT AND CALLING FOR A DC QUOTE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY UNQUOTE TO DEVELOP PARTY POLICY ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROBLEMS PRIOR TO THE REGIONAL ELECTIONS EXPECTED IN JUNE. THE NATIONAL COUNCIL VOTE DIVIDED THE DC ALONG OPEN MAJORITY-MINORITY LINES. IT THEREBY FORMALLY BROUGHT TO A CLOSE THE SEMBLANCE OF INTERNAL PARTY UNITY CREATED AT THE TIME OF THE LAST DC CONGRESS IN JUNE 1973 WITH THE SO-CALLED QUOTE PACT OF PALAZZO GIUSTINIANI UNQUOTE AND THE ENTRY OF REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL PARTY FACTIONS INTO THE PARTY SECRETARIAT.

2. THE FOUR-DAY NATIONAL COUNCIL SESSION WAS OPENED BY FANFANI WITH A FORCEFUL AND WIDE-RANGING POLICY SPEECH IN WHICH HE DEALT WITH KEY POLITICAL ISSUES FACING THE PARTY. IN HIS OPENING PRESENTATION AND IN HIS SHORTER ADDRESS AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE SESSION FANFANI PROMISED THE WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT OF THE PARTY TO THE MORO GOVERNMENT, REITERATED HIS CALL FOR NEW LAW AND ORDER MEASURES (ROME 0983), AND DEMANDED AN END TO FACTIONAL POLEMICS OUTSIDE PARTY CONCLAVES, WARNING THAT DC PARTY MEMBERS AND VOTERS ARE FED UP WITH SUCH POLEMICS.

3. FANFANI'S POSITION ON THE QUESTIONS OF RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIALISTS (PSI) AND COMMUNISTS (PCI) HAVE STIRRED UP THE MOST PRESS INTEREST. ALTHOUGH FANFANI'S CLOSING SPEECH WAS SOMEWHAT MORE CONCILIATORY IN TONE THAN HIS OPENING REMARKS ON THE ISSUE OF DC-PSI RELATIONS, THE DC SECRETARY GAVE A CLEAR QUOTE NO UNQUOTE TO THE PSI DEMAND FOR A QUOTE PREFERENTIAL UNQUOTE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE DC. FANFANI ACKNOWLEDGED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PSI CONTRIBUTION TO A COALITION OF DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND REITERATED THE DC'S INTENTION TO CONTINUE TO SEEK A COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOCIALISTS IN RESOLVING THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS. HOWEVER, HE WARNED THAT ACCEPTANCE OF THE PSI DEMAND WOULD WEAKEN THE SOLIDARITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND WOULD

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ISOLATE THE DC FROM ITS OTHER ALLIES AND ELECTORATE.

4. IN AGAIN REJECTING THE QUOTE HISTORIC COMPROMISE UNQUOTE WITH THE PCI, FANFANI WAS CLEAR AND VIGOROUS. HE CRITICIZED THE PCI'S ATTEMPTS TO SHIFT ITALY INTO POSITION EQUIDISTANT BETWEEN ITS TRADITIONAL ALLIES AND MOSCOW AND STATED THAT SUCH A CHANGE WOULD NEITHER SERVE ITALIAN SECURITY INTERESTS NOR WORLD PEACE. SPECIFICALLY,

HE WARNED THAT ACCEPTANCE OF THE PCI FOREIGN POLICY LINE WOULD NOT HELP ITALIAN SECURITY IN THE EVENT OF A HEATING UP OF THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, IN CASE OF TROUBLE ON ITALY'S QUOTE EASTERN FRONTIERS UNQUOTE OR IN THE EVENT OF A COOLING OFF OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS. FANFANI TERMED THE QUOTE HISTORIC COMPROMISE UNQUOTE A QUOTE SOFT UNQUOTE OPENING OF A PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION OF ITALIAN SOCIETY INTO TOTALITARIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM AND STATE CAPITALISM. FOR THIS REASON, FANFANI CALLED FOR THE REJECTION OF DC-PCI ACCORDS EITHER GRADUAL OR IMMEDIATE, BOTH AT THE NATIONAL AND LOCAL LEVELS. IN AN OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO RECENT INSTANCES OF LOCAL ACCORDS IN VENICE AND AVELLINO, FANFANI STATED THAT THE DC CANNOT JUSTIFY SUCH DEALS WITH THE PCI ON THE GROUNDS OF LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT INSTEAD SHOULD GO INTO OPPOSITION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL IF IT CANNOT FORM A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY. FANFANI WARNED THAT NOT ONLY A DC PARTY CONGRESS BUT ALSO NEW NATIONAL ELECTIONS WOULD BE REQUIRED BEFORE THE DC COULD CHANGE ITS ATTITUDE ON THE QUOTE HISTORIC COMPROMISE UNQUOTE AND, HE ADDED, THE PARTY WOULD LOSE HEAVILY AT THE POLLS IN SUCH A EVENTUALITY.

5. ALTHOUGH ALL PARTY FACTIONS EXCEPT THE LEFT-WING FORZE NUOVE AND BASE GROUPS VOTED UNEQUIVOCAL APPROVAL OF FANFANI'S RESTATEMENT OF DC POLICIES, THE SPEECHES OF SOME MAJOR LEADERS LIKE FOREIGN MINISTER RUMOR, PREMIER MOR AND FORMER INTERIOR MINISTER TAVIANI TENDED TO BE SOFTER ON THE QUESTION OF DC-PSI RELATIONS THAN FANFANI, AND COME DOWN HARDER ON THE ASSERTION OF THE FASCIST ORIGIN OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, LEADERS LIKE PICCOLI, PARTY VICE-SECRETARY RUFFIN AND DEFENSE MINISTER FORLANI WERE FOURSQUARE BEHIND THE PARTY SECRETARY. NOTABLE FOR THEIR ABSENCE FROM THE ROSTRUM WERE FACTION LEADERS LIKE BUDGET MINISTER ADREOTTI AND HEALTH MINISTER GULLOTTI, WHOSE ATTITUDE WAS INTERPRETED BY SOME COMMENTATORS AS CONFIDENTIAL

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REFLECTING A DESIRE TO KEEP THEIR POSITION OPEN AND AVOID TOO CLOSE A PERSONAL ASSOCIATION WITH FANFANI'S POSITION.

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ACTION EUR-12

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6. THE ATTITUDE OF THE PARTY LEFT WING TO FANFANI'S PRESENTATION WAS PREDICTABLY NEGATIVE, ALTHOUGH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING WAS RELATIVELY FREE FROM PERSONAL POLEMICS AGAINST THE PARTY SECRETARY. DONAT-CATTIN SUMMED UP HIS FACTION'S POSITION BY CALLING FOR A QUOTE DIFFERENT DIFFERENT UNQUOTE (AND BASICALLY PREFERENTIAL) RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PSI, AND FOR PRIORITY TO AN ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE. WHILE REJECTING ANY QUOTE GOVERNMENTAL ALLIANCE UNQUOTE WITH THE PCI HE CALLED FOR A MORE DETAILED CONSIDERATION OF PCI PROPOSALS. BASE FACTION LEADER GALLONI TOOK A SIMILAR LINE, ALTHOUGH HIS SPEECH WAS SOMEWHAT MORE CRITICAL OF FANFANI'S SHARP REJECTION OF THE QUOTE HISTORIC COMPROMISE UNQUOTE. WHILE REJECTING A DC-PCI ACCORD QUOTE TODAY OR IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE UNQUOTE, GALLONI WARNED AGAINST DRIVING THE PCI TOWARD POLICES MORE DANGEROUS FOR THE DC SUCH AS PCI-PSI QUOTE LAY FRONT UNQUOTE OR QUOTE REVOLUTIONARY MAXIMALISM UNQUOTE.

7. PREDICTABLY, INITIAL REACTIONS OF THE PCI PRESS AND OF INDIVIDUAL PSI PARLIAMENTARIANS TO THE RESULTS OF THE DC NATIONAL COUNCIL HAVE BEEN SHARPLY CRITICAL OF FANFANI'S POLICY SPEECH AND HAVE ACCUSED HIM OF ADOPTING A RETROGRADE AND CONSERVATIVE STANCE. SOCIAL DEMOCRAT, REPUBLICAN AND LIBERAL PARTY LEADERS HAVE REACTED FAVORABLY.

8. COMMENT. FANFANI CAN BE SATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL SESSION. HIS MAIN PROBLEM AT THIS TIME
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IS TO PREPARE THE DC TO FACE THE IMPORTANT REGIONAL ELECTIONS EXPECTED TO TAKE PLACE IN JUNE. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS HE NEEDS TO GIVE THE DC A CLEARER AND MORE VIGOROUS PUBLIC IMAGE WITHOUT FORCING A CLAMOROUS RUPTURE WITH THE PARTY'S FRACTIOUS LEFT WING. FOUR-FIFTHS OF THE PARTY HAS NOW LINED UP BEHIND FANFANI. DESPITE THE FACT THAT THIS MAJORITY IS NOT PARTICULARLY HOMOGENEOUS, IT SHOULD PERMIT THE PARTY SECRETARY

TO PUSH FORWARD IN DEVELOPING ELECTORAL THEMES SUCH AS LAW
AND ORDER AND THE REFUSAL OF AN ACCORD WITH PCI. THE
FORTHCOMING DC NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, IN LIEU OF A PARTY CONGRESS,
WILL PERMIT THE DC TO SET FORTH A MORE COMPREHENSIVE ELECTORAL
PLATFORM DESIGNED TO APPEAL TO LOCAL AND REGIONAL
NEEDS. IN ADDITION, MORO'S WILLINGNESS, ALBEIT LESS THAN
WHOLEHEARTED, TO DISTINGUISH HIMSELF FROM THE PARTY LEFT
WING DEMONSTRATES THAT THE CRUCIAL MORO-FANFANI ALLIANCE HAS
SURVIVED INTACT. THIS AUGURS WELL FOR THE NEAR TERM SURVIVAL
OF THE MORO GOVERNMENT AND MAY SERVE TO HOLD LEFT-WING DC AND
SOCIALIST HOSTILITY TOWARD FANFAI WITHIN ACCEPTABLE BOUNDS.
HOWEVER, FANFANI'S MANDATE HAS A CLEAR TIME LIMIT IMPOSED BY
THE FORTHCOMING REGIONAL ELECTIONS. THE RESULTS OF THESE ELECTIONS
ARE LIKELY TO DETERMINE BOTH HIS TENURE IN OFFICE AND
THE FATE OF HIS KEY POLICIES WITH RESPECT TO RELATIONS
WITH BOTH THE SOCIALISTS AND PCI. VOLPE

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